

Sesotho (S33)¹

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P001 Shape of the augment: What is the shape of the augment?

V. no: there is no augment in the language

P002 Function of the augment: Does the augment fulfill a specific grammatical function?

V. n.a.: there is no augment in the language

P003 Shape of class 5: What is the shape of the class 5 nominal prefix?

V. 3: CV shape, possibly alternating with zero marking

i) *le-tamo*

CPX₅-dam

‘dam’

ii) *le-rako*

CPX₅-wall

‘wall’

P004 Number of noun classes: How many noun classes are there? (including locative classes)

V. 15: 15 classes

« (plus 1a/2a) »

cl.1) *mo-nna*

CPX₁-man

‘man’

cl.2) *ba-nna*

CPX₂-man

‘men’

cl.1a) *malome*

CPX_{1a}-uncle

‘uncle’

¹ Examples are transcribed using the South African Sesotho orthography with modified word boundaries to represent phonological or morphological wordhood more accurately.

- cl.2a) ***bo-malome***
 CP_{X2a}-uncle
 ‘uncles’
- cl.3) ***mo-tse***
 CP_{X3}-village
 ‘village’
- cl.4) ***me-tse***
 CP_{X4}-village
 ‘villages’
- cl.5) ***le-mati***
 CP_{X5}-door
 ‘door’
- cl.6) ***ma-mati***
 CP_{X6}-door
 ‘doors’
- cl.7) ***se-lepe***
 CP_{X7}-axe
 ‘axe’
- cl.8) ***di-lepe***
 CP_{X8}-axe
 ‘axes’
- cl.9) ***nku***
 CP_{X9}.sheep
 ‘sheep’
- cl.10) ***di-nku***
 CP_{X10}-sheep
 ‘sheep’
- cl.14) ***bo-hobe***
 CP_{X14}-bread
 ‘bread’
- cl.15) ***ho-tsamay-a***
 CP_{X15}-walk-FV
 ‘to walk/walking’
- cl.17) ***ha-Letsie***
 LOC-1a.Letsie
 ‘Letsie’s place’ (place name)

P005 Class for infinitive: Does the infinitive take a noun class prefix?

V. yes

« class 15 »

e.g. *Ba-rat-a ho-bin-a.*

SM₂-like-FV 15-sing-FV

‘They like to sing.’

N. Agreement with class 15 *ho-bina hwa-bona* ‘their singing’

P006 Class for diminutive: Is diminutive meaning expressed through the use of noun classes?

V. no: another strategy is used

P007 Class for augmentative: Is augmentative meaning expressed through the use of noun classes?

V. no: another strategy is used

P008 Noun class prefix omission: Is it possible to omit the noun class prefix when class membership is marked through agreement (on a modifier or on the verb)?

V. yes

i) *(Le-)tamo le-tletse.*

5-dam SM₅-full.PFV

‘The dam is full.’

ii) *(se-)fate se-se-holo*

7-tree AP_{x7}-AP_{x7}-big

‘a big tree’

N. CP_{x5} *le-* and CP_{x7} *se-* can optionally be omitted as shown in the above examples. See Machobane et al. (2007) for classes which can or cannot drop the class prefix.

P009 Locative class prefixation: Can a noun take a locative class prefix?

V. no: other strategies are used: locative suffixation (parameter 10) and prepositional phrases

i) *Ha-mo-rena ho-ho-tle.*

LOC-1-chief AP_{x17}-AP_{x17}-nice

‘At the chief’s place, it is nice.’

ii) *Ka-ngakeng hwa-bata.*

LOC-9.doctor.LOC SM₁₇.DJ-be cold

‘In the surgery, it is cold.’

iii) *ho-mo-rena*

LOC-1-chief

‘to the chief’s place’

N. While class 17 still exists for subject and nominal agreement there is no class prefix for class 17. The prepositional clitics *ha*, *ho*, *ka* appear before nouns but are not noun class prefixes. Only *ha-* and *ka-* marked nouns can agree with modifiers (i) and verbs (ii). *ka-* requires the locative suffix to be grammatical (cf. P010).

P010 Locative class suffixation: Can a noun take a locative suffix?

V. yes

- i) *thabeng* (< *thaba* ‘mountain’)
9.mountain.LOC
‘in/at a mountain’

-e of-(e)ng is deleted after /i, o, ɔ, ʊ, u/:

- ii) *morohong* (< *moroho* ‘vegetable’)
3.vegetable.LOC
‘in/at the vegetable’
- iii) *diperekising* (< *diperekisi* ‘peaches’)
10.peach.LOC
‘in/at the peaches’
- iv) *mangaung* (< *mangaung* ‘a place name’ from *mangau* ‘cheetahs’)
6.cheetah.LOC
‘in/at Mangaung’

-e of-(e)ng is deleted or merged:

- v) *sefateng* (< *sefate* ‘tree’)
7.tree.LOC
‘in/at the tree’

-a of nouns becomes *-e*:

- vi) *moreneng* (< *morena* ‘chief’)
1.chief.LOC
‘in/at the chief’s place’
- vii) *baneng* (< *bana* ‘children’)
2.child.LOC
‘in/at the children’

N. Nouns can be marked with the locative suffix *-(e)ng*.

P011 Locative subject markers: Are there locative subject markers on the verb?

V. yes

« class 17 »

e.g. *Ha-mo-rena hwa-rat-w-a.*
 LOC-1-chief SM₁₇.DJ-like-PASS-FV
 ‘Chief’s place is liked.’

P012 Locative object markers: Are there locative pre-stem object markers on the verb?

V. no: there is object prefixation, but not with locative classes

- i) **Ke-a-ho-rat-a*
 SM_{1SG}-DJ-OM₁₇-like-FV
 Int.: ‘I like the place/I like it there.’
- ii) *Ke-a-se-rat-a* (*se-baka*)
 SM_{1SG}-DJ-OM₇-like-FV 7-place
 ‘I like it (the place).’

N. While Doke and Mofokeng (1957: 84) note that there is an object marker for locatives and have an example similar to i), this seems to have fallen out of use.

P013 Locative enclitics: Are there locative post-verbal clitics?

V. no: such clitics do not exist in the language

P014 Independent subject pronouns: Are independent subject pronouns obligatory?

V. no

e.g. (*Nna*) *ha-ke-j-e* *nama.*
 PRON_{1SG} NEG-SM_{1SG}-eat-NEG 9.meat
 ‘I don’t eat meat.’

N. Independent pronouns are used for emphasis (e.g. contrastive focus).

P015 Connective constructions: Is the order of connective constructions always head - connective - modifier?

V. no: not in all contexts

- i) *se-tulo sa ntate* (head-connective-modifier)
 7-chair ASSC₇ 1a.father
 ‘father’s chair’
- ii) *sa ntate se-tulo* (connective-modifier-head)
 ASSC₇ 1a.father 7-chair
 ‘FATHER’s chair’ (emphasis on father)
- iii) *mo-tho wa nnete* (head-connective-modifier)
 1-person ASSC₁ 9.truth
 ‘an honest person’

- iv) *wa nnete mo-tho* (connective-modifier-head)
 ASSC₁ 9.truth 1-person
 ‘an honest person’

N. Head-initial nominal phrases are the unmarked order. When modifiers are fronted, the modifiers are focused.

P016 Possessive pronouns: Are there distinct possessive pronominal forms for all noun classes and all speech act participants?

V. no: only for speech act participants

- i) *mo-kotla wa-ka*
 3-bag PP_{X3}-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘my bag’
- ii) *mo-kotla wa-hao*
 3-bag PP_{X3}-POSS_{2SG}
 ‘your [sg] bag’
- iii) *mo-kotla wa-hae*
 3-bag PP_{X3}-POSS_{3SG}
 ‘his/her bag’
- iv) *mo-kotla wa rona*
 3-bag ASSC₃ PRON_{1PL}
 ‘our bag’
- v) *mo-kotla wa lona*
 3-bag ASSC₃ PRON_{2PL}
 ‘your [pl] bag’
- vi) *mo-kotla wa bona*
 3-bag ASSC₃ PRON₂
 ‘their bag’
- vii) *le-sapo la yona*
 5-bone ASSC₅ PRON₉
 ‘its bone’
- viii) *le-sapo la tsona*
 5-bone ASSC₅ PRON₁₀
 ‘their bone’
- ix) *le-sapo la ntja*
 5-bone ASSC₅ 9.dog
 ‘dog’s bone’

N. There are possessive pronouns for first and second person singular possessors and class1 (see i-iii). For first and second person plural and all noun classes, except class 1, independent pronouns like *bona*, *yona* and *tsona* (see vi-viii) are used together with associative markers in the same way

as nouns (see ix). Note that the forms for first, second and class1 involve a morpheme which looks the same as that of the associative markers for the respective person/class but because the forms have merged we treat them as distinct synchronically.

P017 Possessive pronoun agreement: Do the possessive pronouns agree in noun class with the possessed?

V. yes

- i) *mo-radi* ***wa-ka***
1-daughter PP_{X1}-POSS_{1SG}
'my daughter'
- ii) *ba-radi* ***ba-ka***
2-daughter PP_{X2}-POSS_{1SG}
'my daughters'
- iii) *mo-kotla* ***wa-ka***
3-bag PP_{X3}-POSS_{1SG}
'my bag'
- iv) *me-kotla* ***ya-ka***
4-bag PP_{X4}-POSS_{1SG}
'my bags'
- v) *le-ihlo* ***la-ka***
5-eye PP_{X5}-POSS_{1SG}
'my eye'
- vi) *ma-hlo* ***a-ka***
6-eye PP_{X6}-POSS_{1SG}
'my eyes'
- vii) *se-fate* ***sa-ka***
7-tree PP_{X7}-POSS_{1SG}
'my tree'
- viii) *di-fate* ***tsa-ka***
8-tree PP_{X8}-POSS_{1SG}
'my trees'
- ix) *tafole* ***ya-ka***
9.table PP_{X9}-POSS_{1SG}
'my table'
- x) *di-tafole* ***tsa-ka***
10-table PP_{X10}-POSS_{1SG}
'my tables'

- xi) *bo-hobe ba-ka*
 14-bread PP_{X14}-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘my bread’
- xii) *ho-tsamay-a hwa-ka*
 15-walk-FV PP_{X15}-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘my walking’

P018 Kinds of possession: Are there specific possessive pronominal forms for different kinds of possession?

V. no: possessive pronouns do not display variation

P019 Possessor raising: Is possessor raising possible?

V. 2: yes, with inalienable possession only

- i) *Ke-rob-ile le-tsoho la ngwana.*
 SM_{1SG}-break-PFV 5-arm ASSC₅ 1.child
 ‘I broke the arm of the child.’
- ii) *Ke-(mo-)rob-ile ngwana le-tsoho.* (possessor raising construction)
 SM_{1SG}-OM₁-break-PFV 1.child 5-arm
 ‘I broke the child the arm.’
- iii) *Ke-tabotse di-phahlo tsa ngwana.*
 SM_{1SG}-tear.PFV 10-clothes ASSC₁₀ 1.child
 ‘I tore the clothes of the child’
- iv) **Ke-tabotse ngwana di-phahlo.* (possessor raising construction)
 SM_{1SG}-tear.PFV 1.child 10-clothes
 Int.: ‘I tore the child the clothes’

N. Possessor raising constructions can be used to express inalienable possession (see i and ii), but not to express alienable possession (see iii and iv). In possessor raising constructions, an object marking the possessor is grammatical (see ii).

P020 Demonstrative morphology: Are there morphological divisions in the system of demonstratives? (e.g. in terms of spatial and temporal deixis and/or visibility)

V. 2: yes, there is a three-way distinction

Proximal (near speaker):

- i) *se-fate se-na*
 7-tree PP_{X7}-DEM
 ‘this tree’
- ii) *se-fate se-e*
 7-tree PP_{X7}-DEMn
 ‘this tree’

Distal 1 (next to the speaker):

- i) *se-fate* ***se-no***
 7-tree PP_{x7}-DEM_x
 ‘that tree’
- ii) *se-fate* ***se-o***
 7-tree PP_{x7}-DEM_x
 ‘that tree’

Distal 2 (far from speaker and hearer):

- i) *se-fate* ***sa-ne***
 7-tree PP_{x7}-DEM_d
 ‘that tree’
- ii) *se-fate* ***sa-a***
 7-tree PP_{x7}-DEM_d
 ‘that tree’

N. There is a three-way distinction in terms of spatial reference with an emphatic and a non-emphatic variant of each. See Doke and Mofokeng (1957) for more details on the Sesotho demonstrative.

P021 Demonstrative agreement: Do the demonstratives agree in noun class with the head noun?

V. 1: yes, always

N. See P020.

P022 Functions of demonstratives: In addition to spatial-deictic functions, do the demonstrative pronouns assume other functions?

V. yes

e.g. *ba-tho* ***bao*** *ke-ba-pheh-etse-ng*
 2-person REL₂ SM_{1SG}-OM₂-cook-APPL.PFV-REL
 ‘people who I cooked for’

N. The referential demonstrative can be used as the relative pronoun. See, P20: Distal 1 (ii).

P023 Lexical adjectives: Are there lexical adjectives? (i.e. which are not syntactically complex)

V. yes

- i) *ntlo* *e-nyane*
 9.house AP_{x9}-small
 ‘a small house’
- ii) *mo-se* *o-mo-tsho*
 3-dress AP_{x3}-AP_{x3}-black
 ‘a black dress’

- iii) *se-fate* *se-se-holo*
 7-tree AP_{x7}-AP_{x7}-big
 ‘a big tree’
- iv) *le-rako* *le-le-tle*
 5-wall AP_{x5}-AP_{x5}-nice
 ‘a nice wall’

N. Adjectives are not so uncommon, so these are examples for illustration only.

P024 Adnominal concord prefixes: Are there different forms/paradigms for adnominal concord prefixes?

V. no: there is only one paradigm which applies for adjectives, numerals and all pronominal forms

- i) *se-fate* *se-o* demonstrative
 7-tree PP_{x7}-DEM
 ‘this tree’
- ii) *se-fate* *se-se-holo* adjective
 7-tree AP_{x7}-AP_{x7}-nice
 ‘a big tree’
- iii) *se-fate* *se-se-ng* numeral
 7-tree AP_{x7}-AP_{x7}-one
 ‘one tree’

P025 Attributive linkers: Are there attributive linkers which are used to introduce adjectives?

V. no: another strategy is used to introduce adjectives

N. See P023.

P026 *-yánà compounding: Is a form related to *-yánà ‘child’ productively used in word formation as the first member of a nominal compound (e.g. to express diminutive or group membership...)?

V. no: such compounding is not attested

« such compounding is not attested as a regular pattern »

- e.g. *ngwana*+*tshwene*
 1.child+9.monkey
 ‘small food’

N. It does not appear to be productive, as only one example was found.

P027 Nominal derivational suffixes: Does the language productively use nominal derivational suffixes for the expression of diminutive meanings or feminine/augmentative/qualitative meanings? (e.g. expressed by forms similar to -yánà and kazi?)

V. 3: yes, all

- i) *mo-tse-nyana*
3-village-DIM
'a small village'
- ii) *petsana* (<<pere 'horse')
9.horse.DIM
'a foal (or a young donkey)'
- iii) *mo-sadi-nyana*
1-woman-DIM
'worthless woman'
- iv) *tau-hadi*
9.lion-FEM
'a female lion'

N. The diminutive suffix *-ana* can be used to convey smallness, youth, and pejorative meaning.

P028 Agentive suffix *-i*: Does suffixation of the agentive marker *-i* occur as a verb-to-noun derivational process (possibly in addition to classes 1/2 prefixes)?

V. 1: yes, it is used productively

- i) *mo-tsama-i* (<<-tsamaya 'go')
1-go-NMLZ
'a person who goes'
- ii) *mo-ngod-i* (<<-ngola 'write')
1-write-NMLZ
'a secretary'

P029 Derivational suffix *-o*: Does the suffixation of *-o* occur as a verb-to-noun derivational process (with sometimes the addition of the applicative extension)?

V. 1: yes, it is used productively

- i) *tseb-o* (<<-tseba 'know')
9.know-NMLZ
'knowledge'
- ii) *tumell-o* (<<-dumela 'approve')
9.approve.APPL-NMLZ
'approval'
- iii) *thut-o* (<<-ruta 'educate')
9.educate-NMLZ
'education'

P030 Cardinal numerals: Does the formation of cardinal numerals below ten obey a pattern?

V. no

e.g.	<i>ngwe</i>	‘one’
	<i>pedi</i>	‘two’
	<i>tharo</i>	‘three’
	<i>nne</i>	‘four’
	<i>hlano</i>	‘five’
	<i>tshelela</i>	‘six’
	<i>supa</i>	‘seven’
	<i>robedi</i>	‘eight’
	<i>robong</i>	‘nine’
	<i>leshome</i>	‘ten’

P031 ‘arm’ and ‘hand’: Is there a single stem that denotes both ‘arm’ and ‘hand’?

V. yes

e.g. *le-tsoho*
 5-arm/hand
 ‘hand/arm’

P032 ‘hand’ and ‘finger’: Is there a single stem that denotes both ‘hand’ and ‘finger’?

V. no: two different words

e.g. *mo-nwana*
 3-finger
 ‘finger’

N. For ‘hand’, see P031.

P033 ‘leg’ and ‘foot’: Is there a single stem that denotes both ‘leg’ and ‘foot’?

V. yes

e.g. *le-oto*
 5-leg/foot
 ‘leg/foot’

P034 ‘tea’: Is the word for ‘tea’ similar to *cha*?

V. no

e.g. *tee*
 9.tea
 ‘tea’

P035 Inchoative verbs: Is there a group of verbs expressing qualities or states which are lexically inchoative and are thus typically used with a perfect/perfective verb form to express a present state? (e.g. fall asleep, be full, be late, be dirty, etc)

V. yes

- e.g. *Mo-nna o-robotse. (-robala)*
1-man SM₁-fall_asleep.PFV
'The man is asleep.'

P036 Canonical passive: Is the canonical passive productively expressed through a verbal extension?

V. yes

- i) *Amina o-ngol-a buka.*
1a.Amina SM₁-write-FV 9.book
'Amina writes a book.'
- ii) *Buka e-ngol-w-a ke Amina*
9.book SM₉-write-PASS-FV by 1a.Amina
'The book is written by Amina.'

N. The passive suffix *-w-* attaches to verbs.

P037 'Impersonal' passive: Can an 'impersonal' construction be used to express passive meaning?

V. no: 'impersonal' constructions are not typically used to express passives (P036)

- i) *Ntate o-kotul-a poone.*
1a.father SM₁-harvest-FV 9.maize
'Father harvests maize.'
- ii) *Poone e-kotul-w-a ke ntate.*
9.maize SM₉-harvest-PASS-FV by 1a.father
'The maize is harvested by father'
- iii) **Poone ba-e-kotutse ke ntate.*
9.maize SM₂-OM₉-harvest.PFV by 1a.father
'The maize, they harvest by father'

P038 Agent noun phrase: How is the agent noun phrase (when present) introduced?

V. 4: by a copula

- i) *Poone e-kotuts-w-e ke ntate.*
9.maize SM₉-harvest-PASS-PFV by 1a.father
'Maize is harvested by father.'
- ii) *Amina ke nese*
1a.Amina COP 9.nurse
'Amina is a nurse.'

N. *ke*, which can be analyzed as a copula as shown in ii), introduces the agent noun phrase.

P039 Bare agent: Can the preposition/copula which introduces the agent be omitted?

V. no: its presence is always required

- e.g. **Poone* *e-kotuts-w-e* *ntate*
 9.maize SM₉-harvest-PASS-PFV 1a.father
 Int. ‘Maize is harvested by father.’

P040 Reciprocal/associative: How is reciprocal/associative meaning expressed?

V. 1: through the use of a verbal affix only

- e.g. *Re-fan-an-e* *di-mpho.*
 SM_{IPL}-give-RECP-PFV 10-gift
 ‘We gave each other gifts.’

P041 Other functions for -an-: Does the suffix -an- (or similar form) have functions other than reciprocal (e.g. antipassive function)?

V. no: the suffix -an- only has a reciprocal function

P042 Causative: How is causative meaning expressed?

V. 1: through the use of verbal affixation only

- e.g. *Ke-pheh-is-a* *ba-na di-jo.*
 SM_{ISG}-cook-CAUS-FV 2-child 10-food
 ‘I make children cook food.’

N. Causative meaning is encoded with the suffix -is-.

P043 Instrumental causative: Can the causative extension be used to introduce prototypical instruments?

V. no: prototypical instruments cannot be introduced by causative verbs

- i) *Amina* *o-ngol-a* *le-ngolo ka pene.*
 1a.Amina SM₁-write-FV 5-letter with 9.pen
 ‘Amina writes a letter with the pen.’
ii) **Ke-hlatsw-is-a* *di-phahlo se-sepa.*
 SM₁-wash-CAUS-FV 10-clothes 7-soap
 Int: ‘I wash clothes with soap.’
iii) **Ke-hlatsw-is-a* *se-sepa di-phahlo.*
 SM₁-wash-CAUS-FV 7-soap 10-clothes
 Int: ‘I wash clothes with soap.’

N. Instruments are introduced by the preposition *ka* ‘with’ (see i), not by the causative extension (see ii and iii)

P044 Applicative: How are applicative constructions formed?

V. 1: through the use of a verbal affix only

- i) *Ke-pheh-el-a* *ba-na di-jo.*
 SM_{1SG}-cook-APPL-FV 2-child 10-food
 ‘I cook food for the children.’

- ii) *Ke-dumel-I-a* *ba-na le-eto.*
 SM_{1SG}-permit-APPL-FV 2-child 5-trip
 ‘I give permission for the children to take the trip’

N. Applicative meaning is encoded with the suffix *-el-* and its phonological variants which include a geminate /l/ without a vowel in the extension and various changes to the final consonants in the stem induced by the perfective ending.

P045 Applicative functions: In addition to the benefactive meaning typically associated with the applicative complement, do applicative constructions convey other meanings?

V. yes

N. location, reason, goal, direction, instrumental (with additional syntactic restrictions), malefactive

- i) *Ke-pheh-el-a* *le-chato.* (reason)
 SM_{1SG}-cook-APPL-FV 5-wedding
 ‘I cook for the wedding.’
- ii) *Ke-rek-el-a* *botlolo* *ho-nw-el-a* *metsi.* (instrument)
 SM_{1SG}-buy-APPL-FV 9.bottle INF-drink-APPL-FV 6.water
 ‘I buy the bottle for drinking water with.’
- iii) *Mo-nna* *o-math-el-a* *se-fate-ng.* (location)
 1-man SM₁-run-APPL-FV 7-tree-LOC
 ‘The man runs to the tree.’
- iv) *Le-eba* *le-fof-el-a* *hodimo.* (direction)
 5-dove SM₅-fly-APPL-FV up
 ‘The dove is flying up.’

P046 Multiple applicative extensions: Can two (or more) applicative extensions be productively used in the same verb form?

V. no: no more than one applicative suffix can be attached to a verb

P047 Neuter/stative: Is there a productive neuter/stative extension?

V. 2: yes, another form

« (-eh-, -ahal-) »

- i) *Di-nomoro* *di-a-bal-eh-a.*
 10-number SM₁₀-DJ-read-STAT-FV
 ‘The numbers are readable.’

- ii) *Se-kipa se-a-hlatsw-eh-a.*
 7-shirt SM₇-DJ-wash-STAT-FV
 ‘The shirt is washable.’
- iii) *Le-tsatsi le-a-bon-ahal-a.*
 5-sun SM₅-DJ-see-STAT-FV
 ‘The sun is visible.’

P048 Order of suffixes: Is there a specific order in which multiple productive verbal extensions typically appear?

V. 1: yes, causative-applicative-reciprocal-passive (CARP) order

- i) causative-applicative
Ke-mo-ngod-is-ets-a ba-na.
 SM_{ISG}-OM₁-write-CAUS-APPL-FV 2-child
 ‘I register the children for him/her.’
- ii) applicative-causative
**Ke-mo-ngol-ed-is-a ba-na.*
 SM_{ISG}-OM₁-write-APPL-CAUS-FV 2.child
 Int: ‘I register the children for him/her.’
- iii) applicative-passive
Ntate o-pheh-el-w-a di-jo ke mme.
 1a.father SM₁-cook-APPL-PASS-FV 10-food by 1a.mother
 ‘Father is cooked food by mother.’
- iv) passive-applicative
**Ntate o-pheh-w-el-a di-jo ke mme.*
 1a.father SM₁-cook-PASS-APPL-FV 10-food by 1a.mother
 Int: ‘Father is cooked food for by mother.’
- v) causative-reciprocal
Ba-tsama-is-an-a le ntate.
 SM₂-walk-CAUS-RECP-FV with 1a.father
 ‘They are walking together with the father.’
- vi) reciprocal-causative
**Ba tsam-an-is-a le ntate.*
 SM₂-walk-RECP-CAUS-FV with 1a.father
 Int: ‘They are walking together with the father.’
- vii) applicative-reciprocal
Ba-na ba-pheh-el-an-a di-jo.
 2-child SM₂-cook-APPL-RECP-FV 10-food
 ‘The children cook food for each other.’

- viii) reciprocal-applicative
**Ba-na ba-pheh-an-el-a di-jo.*
 2-child SM₂-cook-RECP-APPL-FV 10-food
 Int: 'The children cook food for each other.'
- ix) causative-reciprocal-passive
Di-jo di-pheh-is-an-w-a ke ba-na.
 10-food SM₁₀-cook-CAUS-RECP-PASS-FV COP 2-child
 'The food is caused to be cooked for each other by the children.'
- x) causative-applicative-reciprocal-passive
Di-jo di-pheh-is-ets-an-w-a ke bana
 10-food SM₁₀-cook-CAUS-APPL-RECP-PASS-FV COP 2.child
 'The food is caused to be cooked for each other by the children.'
- N. In general, the Sesotho suffixes follow the CARP order.

P049 Negation in independent tenses: What are the formal means of expressing negation in independent tenses?

V. 1: by morphological modification of a verb

- i) *Ke-a-j-a.*
 SM_{1SG}-DJ-eat-FV
 'I eat.'
- ii) *Ha-ke-j-e.*
 NEG-SM_{1SG}-eat-FV
 'I don't eat.'
- iii) *Ha-ke-sa-j-a*
 NEG-SM_{1SG}-NEG-eat-FV
 'I don't eat anymore.'
- iv) *Ke-bon-a John.*
 SM_{1SG}-see-FV 1a.John
 'I see John.'
- v) *Ha-ke-bon-e John.*
 NEG-SM_{1SG}-see-FV 1a.John
 'I don't see John.'
- vi) *Ha-ke-sa-bon-a John.*
 NEG-SM_{1SG}-NEG-see-FV 1a.John
 'I don't see John anymore.'
- vii) *Ke-rek-ile nama.*
 SM_{1SG}-buy-PFV 9.meat
 'I bought meat.'

- viii) *Ha-ke-so-rek-e* *nama*
 NEG-SM_{1SG}-NEG-buy-FV 9.meat
 ‘I have not bought meat yet.’

P050 Negation in dependent tenses: What are the formal means of expressing negation in dependent tenses?

V. 1: by morphological modification of a verb

- i) *Ke-nahan-a* *hore* *ke-se-bu-e*
 SM_{1SG}-think.FV that SM_{1SG}-NEG-speak-FV
 ‘I think I should not speak.’
- ii) *Ke-nahan-a* *hore* *ke-se-ka* *ka-bu-a*
 SM_{1SG}-think-FV that SM_{1SG}-NEG-NEG SM₁-speak-FV
 ‘I think I should not speak.’

P051 Negation in relative clauses: Is negation in relative clauses expressed in the same way as in another clause type?

V. 1: yes, as in dependent tenses

- e.g. *mo-sadi* *eo* *ke-sa-mo-rate-ng*
 1-woman REL SM_{1SG}-NEG-OM₁-like-REL
 ‘the woman that I don’t like’

P052 Place of negation in independent tenses: Where is negation expressed in independent tenses?

V. 5: two (or more) of the above (either 1 or 2 + 3) (1: in the pre-initial position only (NEG-SM-...); 2: in the post-initial position only (SM-NEG-...); 3: in the final vowel position of the inflected verb (see P080))

N. See examples in P049.

P053 Place of negation in dependent tenses: Where is negation expressed in dependent tenses?

V. 5: two (or more) of the above (either 1 or 2 + 3) (1: in the pre-initial position only (NEG-SM-...); 2: in the post-initial position only (SM-NEG-...); 3: in the final vowel position of the inflected verb)

N. See examples in P050.

P054 Number of negation markers in independent tenses: How many markers of negation are there in independent tenses?

V. 6: it varies depending on the tense

N. See examples in P049.

P055 Number of negation markers in dependent tenses: How many markers of negation are there in dependent tenses?

V. 6: it varies depending on the tense

N. See examples in P050.

P056 Independent negative particle: Is there an independent negative particle used to express negation?

V. no: not attested in the language

P057 First person singular negative: Is there a specific first person singular negative subject prefix which is different from the affirmative one?

V. no: there is only one 1SG subject prefix used for both affirmative and negative verb forms

i) *Ke-a-hlap-a.*

SM_{1SG}-DJ-bathe-FV

‘I bathe.’

ii) *Ha-ke-hlap-e*

NEG-SM_{1SG}-bathe-NEG

‘I don’t bathe.’

P058 Negative imperative: Is there a negative imperative which is formally distinct from the negative subjunctive?

V. yes

i) *Se-sebets-e!*

(Imperative)

NEG-work-FV

‘Don’t work!’

ii) *Ba-itse*

re-se-ka

ra-sebets-a.

(Subjunctive)

SM₂-say.PFV SM_{1PL}-NEG-NEG

SM_{1PL}-work-FV

‘They said we should not work.’

N. Imperatives can take negative prefixes and end in final vowel *-a* or *-e* (depending on the prefixes) but have no subject marking. Subjunctives have subject marking.

P059 Periphrastic negation: Is negation in certain tense/aspect/moods expressed by means of a periphrastic form (e.g. making use of an auxiliary construction or a verb like ‘refuse/deny’ for instance)? (see P049)

V. no: all tense/aspect/mood constructions are negated by a negative prefix and/or a negative particle

P060 Subject-verb agreement: Is there subject-verb agreement?

V. yes

e.g. *Mo-nna o-j-a apole.*
 1-man SM₁-eat-FV 9.apple
 ‘The man eats an apple.’

P061 Animate agreement: Can animate nouns show subject agreement with class 1/2 regardless of class membership? (without class shift, e.g. the addition of a diminutive class)

V. no: animate nouns trigger agreement with their inherent classes

- i) *Se-bu-i se-lapile.*
 7-speak-NMLZ SM₇-get hungry.PFV
 ‘The speaker is hungry.’
- ii) **Se-bu-i o-lapile.*
 7-speak-NMLZ SM₁-get hungry.PFV
 Int: ‘The speaker is hungry.’
- iii) *Le-kwala le-jele.*
 5-coward SM₅-eat.PFV
 ‘A coward has eaten.’
- iv) **Le-kwala o-jele*
 5-coward SM₁-eat.PFV
 Int: ‘A coward has eaten.’
- v) *Ngwetsi e-jele.*
 9.daughter in law SM₉-eat.PFV
 ‘The daughter in law has eaten.’
- vi) **Ngwetsi o-jele.*
 9.daughter in law SM₁-eat.PFV
 Int: ‘The daughter in law has eaten.’

P062 1st and 2nd person plurals: Are first person plural and second person plural subject prefixes identical?

V. no: first person plural and second person plural subject prefixes are formally distinct

N. The first and the second person plural subject prefixes are *re-* and *le-*, respectively.

P063 Honorific plural: Can plural persons be used to express an honorific singular?

V. no

P064 Coordinated nominals: What subject agreement does the verb show with coordinated nominals?

V. 2: the verb always shows agreement with the whole noun phrase

N. See Mitchley (2015).

P065 Past time reference: How is past time reference formally divided?

V. 2: past time is divided into two

« (e.g. immediate and remote) »

- i) *Ke-rek-ile nama hoseng.* (immediate)
SM_{ISG}-buy-PFV 9.meat in the morning
'I bought meat in the morning'
- ii) *Ke-ne ke-rek-ile nama maobane hoseng.* (remote)
SM_{ISG}-PST SM_I-buy-PFV 9.meat yesterday morning
'I had bought meat yesterday morning.'

N. Many compound tense express past meanings. While there seems to be some general distinction between immediate and remote, this is not strictly divided along temporal lines. Morolong considers *-ile* and *-tsoa* to be immediate past tenses and *-ne + -ile* to be remote (Morolong 1978:51-55)

P066 Future time reference: How is future time reference formally divided?

V. 3: future time is divided in to three

- i) *Ke-tlo-y-a se-petlele mantsiboya.* (hodiernal)
SM_{ISG}-FUT-go-FV 7-hospital in the evening
'I will be going to the hospital in the evening.'
- ii) *Ke-tla-y-a se-petlele hosane.* (post-hodiernal)
SM_{ISG}-FUT-go-FV 7-hospital tomorrow
'I will go to the hospital tomorrow.'
- iii) *Ke-tlo-tla ke-y-a se-petlele hona jwale.*
SM_{ISG}-FUT-FUT SM_{ISG}-go-FV 7-hospital right now
'I am about to go to the hospital right now.'

N. That only *-tlo* (i) and *-tla* (ii) are simple prefixes, in (iii) *-tla* functions as an auxiliary inflected with *-tlo*.

P067 Suffix *-ag-*: Is there a tense/aspect (pre-final) suffix *-ag-* or a similar form used with an imperfective meaning (expressing for instance habituality/iterativity/pluractionality/intensity)?

V. yes

- e.g. *Mo-sadi wa-tsamay-ak-a.*
1-woman SM_I-go-HAB-FV
'The woman is always walking.'

P068 Suffix *-ile*: Is there a tense/aspect suffix *-ile* or a similar form (as a reflex of **-ide*)?

V. yes

e.g. *Ke-pheh-ile.*
 SM_{1SG}-cook-PFV
 ‘I have cooked.’

P069 Itive marker: Is there an itive motional/directional marker? (e.g. *ka-* prefix)

V. no

i) *Ke-ya ho-ngwath-el-a ba-tho.*
 SM_{1SG}-go INF-dish-APPL-FV 2-person
 ‘I go to dish out (food) for people.’

ii) *Ke-ilo ngwath-el-a ba-tho.*
 SM_{1SG}-AUX dish-APPL-FV 2-person
 ‘I am going to dish out (food) for people.’

N. There are lexical motion verbs which can be used with an infinitive verb, and there are no grammaticalized itive markers.

P070 Ventive marker: Is there a ventive motional/directional marker (‘come and V’)?

V. no

e.g. *O-tla ho-ngwath-el-a ba-tho.*
 SM₁-come INF-dish-APPL-FV 2-person
 ‘S/he comes to dish(food) for people.’

N. There are lexical motion verbs which can be used with an infinitive and TAM markers grammaticalized from these but there are no grammaticalized ventive markers.

P071 Imperatives: Is the basic imperative formally identical to the verb stem (root-ext.-FV)?

V. yes

i) *Tsamay-a!*
 go-FV
 ‘Go!’

P072 Plural imperatives: Is there a singular/plural distinction in imperative verb forms?

V. 1: yes, the plural is expressed by a post-verbal marker (suffix or enclitic)

i) *Tsamay-a-ng!*
 go-FV-PL
 ‘Go!’

P073 TAM slots: In an inflected verb form, is preverbal marking of tense/aspect/mood typically restricted to one slot?

V. yes: there is typically only one preverbal slot for tense/aspect/mood marking

e.g. *Ke-tla-tsamay-a.*
 SM_{1SG}-FUT-go-FV
 ‘I will go.’

P074 Conjoint/disjoint: Does the language have a conjoint/disjoint distinction?

V. yes

i) *Ke-a-j-a.* (Disjoint)

SM_{1SG}-DJ-eat-FV

‘I eat’

ii) *Ke-j-a nama.* (Conjoint)

SM_{1SG}-eat-FV 9.meat

‘I eat meat.’

N. Only the present tense exhibits a morphological distinction. The present conjoint form is unmarked while the disjoint form is marked with *a-*.

P075 Object marking: Are there object markers on the verb (excluding locative object markers, see P012 & P013)?

V. 1: yes, there are only pre-stem object markers

i) *Ke-ba-pheh-el-a di-jo.*

SM_{1SG}-OM₂-cook-APPL-FV 10-food

‘I cook food for them (children).’

ii) *Ke-di-pheh-el-a ba-na.*

SM_{1SG}-OM₁₀-cook-APPL-FV 2-children

‘I cook it (food) for the children.’

iii) *Ke-mo-bone Mpho hoseng.*

SM_{1SG}-OM₁-see.PFV 1a.Mpho in the morning

‘I saw her (Mpho) in the morning.’

P076 Multiple object marking: Is it possible to have more than one pre-stem object marker?

V. no: there is only one slot for pre-stem object marking

P077 Reflexive: Is the reflexive expressed by a reflexive marker in a pre-stem verbal slot on the verb?

V. 1: yes, by a form similar to *-i-* (reflex of *yi)

e.g. *Ke-i-kam-a mo-riri.*

SM_{1SG}-REFL-comb-FV 3-hair

‘I comb my hair.’

P078 Object doubling: Can the object marker and the post-verbal lexical object noun phrase co-occur in the same domain? (excluding ‘afterthought’ constructions)

V. 1: yes, co-occurrence is possible/optional

- i) *Ke-(mo-)bone Mpho hoseng.*
SM_{1SG}-OM₁-see.PFV 1a.Mpho in the morning
‘I saw Mpho in the morning.’
- ii) *Ke-mo-bone hoseng.*
SM_{1SG}-OM₁-see.PFV in the morning
‘I saw her in the morning.’

P079 Subjunctive final -e: Is the subjunctive normally formed by means of a final -e? (with possible exceptions, such as loanwords)

V. yes

- e.g. *Ke-batl-a hore o-ngol-e le-ngolo.*
SM_{1SG}-want-FV that SM₂-write-SBJV 5-letter
‘I want you to write a letter.’

P080 Negative final vowel: Is there a negative final vowel (e.g. -i, -e)? (see also P052 & P053)

V. yes

- e.g. *Ha-ke-j-e.*
NEG-SM_{1SG}-eat-FV
‘I don’t eat.’

P081 Defective verbs: Are there ‘defective verbs’ which do not exhibit regular inflection?

V. 2: yes, a subset of (non-borrowed) verbs

- i) *Ke-na le buka.*
SM_{1SG}-have with 9.book
‘I have a book.’
- ii) *Ke-tla-ba le buka*
SM_{1SG}-FUT-be with 9.book
‘I will have a book.’
- iii) *Ke-tla-re nama e-fedile.*
SM_{1SG}-FUT-say 9.meat SM₉-finish.PFV
‘I will say the meat is finished.’

N. Non-conjugating *na* + *le* ‘and’ is used for present tense only (i) and cannot take any TAM inflections. For past and future, the copula *ba* is used (SM-*b-ile...* for the past) and (SM-*tla-ba le...* for the future). The verb *-re* ‘say’ cannot be used with the perfective suffix but it can be used with TAM prefixes (e.g. the future in iii). There are a large number of auxiliaries which are treated

as ‘deficient’ verbs in Doke and Mofokeng (1957, see pp 245) that we treat as auxiliaries here since they are followed by another inflected verb (see P082-085).

P082 TAM and auxiliaries: Are there dedicated auxiliaries for different tense/aspect/moods?

V. 1: yes, each auxiliary used with a specific tense/aspect/mood

- i) *Ke-ile ka-tsamay-a.*
SM_{1SG}-AUX SM_{1SG}.NP-go-FV
‘I went.’
- ii) *Ke-ntse ke-tsamay-a.*
SM_{1SG}-AUX SM_{1SG}-go-FV
‘I am still going.’
- iii) *Mpho a-kanna a-tsamay-a hosane.*
1a.Mpho SM₁-AUX SM₁-go-FV tomorrow
‘Mpho might go tomorrow’

P083 Multiple auxiliaries: Can two (or more) auxiliaries co-occur with the same main verb form?

V. yes: auxiliary constructions allow two (or more) auxiliaries

- e.g. *Ke-ntse ke-ile ka-tsamay-a.*
SM_{1SG}-AUX SM_{1SG}-AUX SM_{1SG}.NP-go-FV
‘I have been travelling.’

P084 Agreement in complex constructions: In complex constructions, does the subject trigger agreement on both the auxiliary and the main verb?

V. 1: yes, agreement on both forms in all contexts

- e.g. *Amina o-ile a-math-a.*
1a.Amina SM₁-AUX SM₁-ran-FV
‘Amina ran.’

N. See examples in P082 and P083 as well.

P085 Auxiliary semantics: Are there auxiliaries which express semantic notions beyond tense/aspect? (i.e. notions which are often expressed by adverbs in European languages, like manner such as ‘quickly’)

V. 3. yes, both 1 and 2 (1: yes, only in the domain of modality (ability, possibility, permission); 2: yes, only in the domain of verbal aspect (quickly, suddenly, repeatedly))

- i) *Ke-tshwanetse ho-j-a.* (modality)
SM_{1SG}-AUX INF-eat-FV
‘I ought to eat.’

- ii) *Ke-atisa ho-rek-a nama.* (verbal aspect)
 SM_{1SG}-AUX INF-buy-FV 9.meat
 ‘I buy meat frequently.’
- iii) *Ke-dutse ke-kgathetse.* (verbal aspect)
 SM_{1SG}-AUX SM_{1SG}-become_tired.PFV
 ‘I am always tired.’
- iv) *Ke-hlotse ke-lapile.* (verbal aspect)
 SM_{1SG}-AUX SM_{1SG}-become_hungry.PFV
 ‘I stay hungry.’

P086 Copula as auxiliary: Is the copula used as an auxiliary?

V. yes

- e.g. *Ba-na ba-be ba-lapile hoseng.*
 2-child SM₂-AUX SM₂-become_hungry.PFV in the morning
 ‘Children are normally hungry in the morning.’

N. The copula *ba-* ‘be’ or its variant *be-* can be used as auxiliary.

P087 Verbal relative morphology: Are there relative forming strategies which employ verbal morphology?

V. yes

« post-final clitic (-ng) »

- i) *Mo-nna (eo) a-re-thusitse-ng o-tsama-ile.*
 1-man REL₁ SM₁-OM_{1PL}-help.APPL.PFV-REL SM₁-go-PFV
 ‘The man that helped us has left.’
- ii) *Mo-nna eo re-mo-bon-e-ng o-tsama-ile.*
 1-man REL₁ SM_{1PL}-OM₁-see-PFV-REL SM₁-go-PFV
 ‘The man that we saw left.’

P088 Nominal relative morphology: Are there relative strategies which employ a nominal relative marker?

V. yes

« by a form derived from the demonstrative marker »

N. Demonstrative-derived relative markers such as *eo* are optional when the subject is relativised, but they are obligatorily when an object is relativised, as can be seen in the examples in P087.

P089 Relativisor agreement: When the relative marker is a separate word, does it agree with the head noun?

V. 1: yes

N. See P087.

P090 Subject-Relativisor: When the relative marker is a separate word, can it be preceded by the subject in non-subject relative clauses?

V. no: the relative marker is invariable

- i) *buka eo Amina a-e-rek-ile-ng*
 9.book REL₉ 1a.Amina SM₁-OM₉-buy-PFV-REL
 ‘the book that Amina bought’
- ii) **buka Amina eo a-e-rek-ile-ng*
 9.book 1a.Amina REL₉ SM₁-OM₉-buy-PFV-REL
 Int: ‘the book that Amina bought’

P091 Relative verb agreement: In non-subject relatives, what does the verb of the relative clause agree with?

V. 2: subject

- e.g. *buka eo Amina a-e-rekile-ng*
 9.book REL₉ 1.Amina SM₁-OM₉-buy-PFV-REL
 ‘a book that Amina bought’

P092 Subject-Relative verb: In non-subject relatives, can the subject be preverbal?

V. yes

N. see P091.

P093 Resumptive pronouns in relatives: In non-subject relatives, is there a resumptive element referring to the head noun (through object marking or independent pronoun)?

V. 2: yes, it is always required

- i) *buka eo Amina a-e-rek-ile-ng*
 9.book REL₉ 1a.Amina SM₁-OM₉-buy-PFV-REL
 ‘the book that Amina bought.’
- ii) **buka eo Amina a-rek-ile-ng*
 9.book REL₉ 1a.Amina SM₁-buy-PFV-REL
 Int: ‘the book that Amina bought.’

P094 Headless adverbial relatives: Can headless relatives be used as adverbial clauses, with, for instance, temporal (‘when...’), locative (‘where...’), or manner (‘how...’) meaning?

V. yes

- e.g. *Moo a-dula-ng ke Maseru.*
 where SM₁-arrive-REL COP Maseru
 ‘Where she stays, it is Maseru.’

N. Adverbial clauses with locative meaning can be realized as headless relatives.

P095 Gapless relative clause

V. yes

e.g. *se-tori sa hore Mpho o-rek-ile di-banana*
7-story ASSC₇ COMPL 1a.Mpho SM₁-buy-PFV 10-banana
'the story that Mpho bought bananas'

N. In the above example, which is a noun modifying clause but not a relative clause, the associative marker agrees with the head noun and the complementizer is used.

P096 TAM and relatives: Can relative clauses express the full range of tense/aspect/mood distinctions found in main clauses?

V. yes

- i) *nama eo ke-e-reka-ng* (Present)
9.meat REL₉ SM_{1SG}-OM₉-buy-REL
'the meat which I buy'
- ii) *nama eo ke-e-rek-ile-ng hoseng* (Past)
9.meat REL₉ SM_{1SG}-OM₉-buy-PFV-REL in the morning
'the meat which I bought in the morning'
- iii) *nama eo ke-tla-e-rek-a hosane* (Future)
9.meat REL₉ SM_{1SG}-FUT-OM₉-buy-FV tomorrow
'the meat which I will buy tomorrow'
- iv) *nama eo ke-ntseng ke-e-rek-a* (Progressive)
9.meat REL₉ SM_{1SG}-AUX SM_{1SG}-OM₉-buy-FV
'the meat that I am buying'

N. Though not thoroughly confirmed, it seems there is no tense or aspect restriction on relative clauses.

P097 Clefts: How are clefts formed?

V. 1: through the use of the segmentally expressed copula

e.g. *Ke mang a-tlileng?*
COP who SM₁-come.PFV.REL
'Who came?'

P098 Clefted word classes: In addition to canonical noun phrases, may other categories be clefted?

V. no

P099 Yes/no questions: In addition to intonation, are there other means used to encode yes/no questions (polar interrogatives)?

V. yes

e.g. *U-batl-a metsi na?*
 SM₁-want-FV 6.water QP
 ‘Do you want water?’

P100 Wh-element location: In the dominant strategy for argument wh-questions, where does the wh-element typically appear?

V. 3: immediately after the verb (IAV)

- i) *U-ba-bone neng ba-na?*
 SM₁-OM₂-see.PFV when 2-child
 ‘When did you see the children?’
- ii) *U-ba-rutile jwang ba-na?*
 SM₁-OM₂-teach.PFV how 2-child
 ‘How did you teach the children?’
- iii) *U-ba-reketse eng ba-na?*
 SM₁-OM₂-buy.APPL.PFV what 2-child
 ‘What did you buy for the children?’

P101 ‘why’ applicatives: Can ‘why’ be formed through the combination of an applicative on the verb + ‘what’?

V. yes

e.g. *O-ll-el-a eng?*
 SM₁-cry-APPL-FV what
 ‘Why are you crying?’

P102 Equative predication: How is equative predication achieved with non-discourse participants?

V. 1: an invariable copula only

e.g. *Lerato ke tichere.*
 1a.Lerato COP 9.teacher
 ‘Lerato is a teacher.’

P103 Affirmative copula: In the copula system, what is the form of the affirmative copula?

V. 2: derived from verbal subject markers

N. The invariable copula *ke* is formally identical to the first person singular subject marker, meaning that the copula is possibly derived from a subject marker.

N. See P102.

P104 Copula’s other meanings: In addition to equative predication, may a copula form be used to convey other meanings?

V. yes

- i) *Pene e-rek-w-a ke Amina*
9.pen SM₉-buy-PASS-FV by 1a.Amina
'Pen is bought by Amina.'
- ii) *Amina ke enwa*
1a.Amina COP DEM₁
'Amina is here.'

N. *ke* is used to introduce agent nouns of passive sentences as in i), and it can express a location of the subject as in ii). For location, only locative demonstratives can co-occur with *ke*. Other locative noun phrases co-occur with a subject prefix.

P105 'to have': How is possession ('to have') expressed?

V. 2: the verb 'be' + preposition 'with' only

- e.g. *Ke-na le se-notlolo.*
SM_{1SG}-have with 7-key
'I have a key.'

P106 Verb + cognate object: Are there verbal constructions with obligatory cognate objects?

V. no

- i) *Ke-bin-a pina.*
SM_{1SG}-sing-FV 9.song
'I sing a song.'
- ii) *Ke-a-bin-a*
SM_{1SG}-DJ-sing-FV
'I sing.'

N. Some verbs can co-occur with their cognate objects, but not obligatorily.

P107 Verb doubling constructions: Are there verb doubling constructions, where a non-finite verb form (e.g. infinitive, verbal base) appears before an inflected form of the same verb?

V. 1: yes, for verb focus

- e.g. *Ho-bin-a ke-binne.*
INF-sing-FV SM_{1SG}-sing.PFV
'To sing I sang.'

N. Verb doubling constructions are used to indicate emphasis.

P108 Light verb constructions: Are there complex predicates or light verb constructions of the form *beat colour* 'to paint'? (e.g. "-piga rangi" in Swahili)

V. no

P109 Passivisation in ditransitives: In double object constructions, can either object become subject under passivisation?

V. yes

« except for causatives for some speakers/varieties »

- i) *Di-jo di-phehetswe ba-na.*
10-food SM₁₀-cook.APPL.PASS.PFV 2-child
'Food was cooked for children.'
- ii) *Ba-na ba-phehetswe di-jo.*
2-child SM₂-cook.APPL.PASS.PFV 10-food
'The children were cooked food.'
- iii) *Di-f-w-e ba-na.*
OM₁₀-give-PASS-PFV 2-child
'I give it (food) to the children.'
- iv) *Ke-ba-fa di-jo.*
SM_{1SG}-OM₂-give 10-food
'I give them (children) food.'
- v) *Ba-na ba-bad-is-w-a buka ke ntate.*
2-child SM₂-read-CAUS-PASS-FV 9.book by father
'The children are made to read the book by my father' (Machobane 1989:31²)
- vi) **Buka e-bad-is-w-a ba-na ke ntate.*
9.book SM₉-read-CAUS-PASS-FV 2-child by 1a.father
'The book is made to be read by the children by my father' (Machobane 1989:31)

N. Applicatives (i and ii) and lexical ditransitives (iii and iv) allow either object to be passivized but for some speakers/varieties (not including the first author) causatives (v and vi) only allow the causee to be passivized (v), not the theme (vi). See Machobane (1989) for more discussion.

P110 Object marking in ditransitives: In double object constructions, can either object be expressed by an object marker, independently of the other object?

V. yes

« except for causatives for some speakers/varieties »

- i) *Ke-di-phehetse ba-na* (applicative)
SM_{1SG}-OM₁₀-cook.APPL.PFV 2-child
'I cooked (food) for the children.'
- ii) *Ke-ba-phehetse di-jo*
SM_{1SG}-OM₂-cook.APPL.PFV 10-food
'I cooked them food.'

² Glosses added by the authors. The examples from Machobane have been modified to match South African Sesotho orthography.

- iii) *Ke-di-f-a* *ba-na* (lexical ditransitive)
 SM_{1SG}-OM₁₀-give-FV 2-child
 ‘I give it (food) to the children.’
- iv) *Ke-ba-fa* *di-jo* (lexical ditransitive)
 SM_{1SG}-OM₂-give 10-food
 ‘I give them (children) food.’
- v) *Ntate* *o-ba-bad-is-a* *buka.* (causative)
 1a.father SM₁-OM₂-read-CAUS-FV 9.book
 ‘My father makes them read the book.’ (Machobane 1989:31)
- vi) **Ntate* *o-e-bad-is-a* *ba-na.* (causative)
 1a.father SM₁-OM₉-read-CAUS-FV 2-child
 Int. ‘My father makes the children read it.’ (Machobane 1989:31)

N. Applicatives (i and ii) and lexical ditransitives (iii and iv) allow either object to be object-marked (at least when the lexical object noun phrase is deleted) though for some speakers, not including the first author, causatives (v and vi) only allow the causee to be object-marked (v), not the theme (vi). See Machobane (1989) for further discussion.

P111 Pro-drop: Can the grammatical subject be omitted (i.e. is there pro-drop)? (link with P060)

V. yes

- e.g. *(Amina)* *o-j-a* *nama.*
 1a.Amina SM₁-eat-FV 9.meat
 ‘Amina/she eats meat.’

N. The subject can be omitted as the parentheses suggest in the above example.

P112 Dem-Noun: Is it possible for a demonstrative to precede the head noun?

V. 2: Dem-Noun order is attested

- e.g. *enwa* *mo-nna*
 DEM₁ 1-man
 ‘this man’

P113 Quant-Noun: Is there a prenominal quantifier?

V. yes

- e.g. *tse-ngata* *di-buka*
 APx₁₀-many 10-book
 ‘many books’

N. While prenominal quantifiers follow nouns by default, they can occur in pre-nominal position in order to emphasize the quantity (e.g. ‘only two’, ‘many, not a few’).

P114 Possessive in multiple modifiers: In the case of co-occurring modifiers, does the possessive normally appear closest to the noun?

V. no

« not always »

- i) *Buka ena ea-k e-ntle.*
 9.book DEM₉ PP_{X9}-POSS_{1SG} AP_{X9}-nice
 ‘This book of mine is nice.’
- ii) **Buka ea-ka ena e-ntle*
 9.book PP_{X9}-POSS_{1SG} DEM₉ AP_{X9}-nice
 Int.: ‘This book of mine is nice’
- iii) *Buka ea-ka, e-ntso, e-kholo e-lahlehile.*
 9.book PP_{X9}-POSS AP_{X9}-black AP_{X9}-big SM₉-lose.PFV
 ‘My black, big book is lost.’

N. The possessive occurs after the demonstrative and before the adjectives.

P115 SVO: Is Subject-Verb-Object the canonical constituent order in a neutral context (topic/comment)?

V. yes

- e.g. *Amina o-hlatsw-a di-jana.*
 1a.Amina SM₁-wash-FV 10-dish
 ‘Amina washes dishes.’

P116 Control of object order: In ditransitive constructions, are there mechanisms which control the order of multiple objects?

V. 2: yes, the order is determined by the thematic/semantic properties of the objects

- i) *Ke-balla ba-na buka.*
 SM_{1SG}-read.APPL 2-child 9.book
 ‘I read the book for the children.’
- ii) **Ke-balla buka ba-na.*
 SM_{1SG}-read.APPL 9.book 2-child
 Int: ‘I read the book for the children.’
- iii) *Ke-tsebisa Amina ntja.*
 SM_{1SG}-know.CAUS 1a.Amina 9.dog
 ‘I introduce the dog to Amina.’
- iv) **Ke-tsebisa ntja Amina*
 SM_{1SG}-know.CAUS 9.dog 1a.Amina
 Int.: ‘I introduce Amina to the dog.’

- v) *Ke-reketse jakete ma-konopo.*

SM_{1SG}-buy.APPL.PFV 9.jacket 6-button

‘I bought buttons for the jacket.’

- vi) *Ke-reketse ma-konopo jakete.*

SM_{1SG}-buy.APPL.PFV 6-button 9.jacket

‘I bought buttons for the jacket.’

N. The order of multiple objects is determined by animacy (see Morolong and Hyman 1977; Demuth et al. 2005). The order is flexible only when the animacy status of the objects is equal.

P117 Object order asymmetry: In pragmatically neutral ditransitive constructions, can either object be adjacent to the verb?

V. yes

- i) *Ke-beh-a buka tafoleng.*

SM_{1SG}-put-FV 9.book 9.table.LOC

‘I put the book on the table.’

- ii) *Ke-beh-a tafoleng buka.*

SM_{1SG}-put-FV 9.table.LOC 9.book

‘I put on the table the book.’

N. For examples of possible orders with applicative and causative verbs see P116.

P118 Focus position: In simple main clauses, is there a specific syntactic focus position?

V. 1: immediately after the verb (IAV)

- i) *Mpho o-phehetse eng ba-na?*

1a.Mpho SM₁-cook.APPL.PFV what 2-child

‘What did Mpho cook for the children?’

- ii) *Mpho o-phehetse nama ba-na.*

1a.Mpho SM₁-cook.APPL.PFV 9.meat 2-child

‘Mpho cooked meat for the children.’

N. Note the preferred word order difference to double object constructions that do not appear in question-answer pairs as shown in P115 and P116.

P119 Aux-Obj.pronoun-Verb: In auxiliary constructions, can object pronouns be placed between the auxiliary and the main verb?

V. no

P120 Infinitive-Auxiliary: Is it possible for an infinitive to appear before the auxiliary?

V. no

- i) *ho-j-a ntse ke-tsamay-a ho-monate*
 INF-eat-FV AUX SM_{1SG}-walk-FV AP_{x15}-nice
 ‘to eat while I am still walking is nice.’

N. Infinitives before the auxiliary (i) are not part of the same clause.

P121 Verb-subject: Are there verb-initial clauses with subject inversion (e.g.thetic statements or subject focus)?

V. 1 : yes, and the verb agrees with the postverbal subject

- i) *O-lapile mo-nna.*
 SM₁-hungry.PFV 1-man
 ‘A man is hungry.’
- ii) *Mo-nna o-lapile.*
 1-man SM₁-hungry.PFV
 ‘A man is hungry.’

P122 Locative inversion: Is locative inversion attested?

V. 1: yes, formally (i.e. the verb shows agreement with a preceding noun phrase which is locative marked)

- i) *Lesotho ho-dul-a Basotho.*
 Lesotho SM₁₇-stay-FV Basotho
 ‘In Lesotho stay Basotho.’
- ii) *Thabeng ho-dul-a di-tshwene.*
 9.mountain.LOC SM₁₇-stay-FV 10-monkey
 ‘On the mountain stay monkeys.’

P123 Patient inversion: Is patient inversion (subject-object reversal) attested?

V. no

P124 Instrument inversion: Is instrument inversion attested?

V. no

P125 Conjunction ‘and’: Is the conjunction ‘and’ used in coordinated nouns (or noun phrases) the same as the one used in coordinated clauses?

V. yes

- i) *ntate le mme*
 1a.father and 1a.mother
 ‘father and mother’

- ii) *Amina o-tla-y-a hae le Thembi o-tla-y-a mo-long*
 1a.Amina SM_I-FUT-go-FV home and 1a.Thembi SM_I-FUT-go-FV 3.mall.LOC
 ‘Amina will go home and Thembi will go to the mall.’

N. The conjunction *le* can coordinate clauses as well as noun phrases.

P126 Subsequent/consecutive: Is there any verbal marker to express combinations of clauses encoding subsequent/consecutive events?

V. yes

- e.g. *Ke-phehile di-jo, ka-fiel-a ntlo, ka-hlatsw-a di-jana*
 SM_{ISG}-cook.PFV 10-food SM_{ISG}.NP-sweep-FV 9.house SM_{ISG}.NP-wash-FV 8-dish
 ‘I cooked food, then swept the house, then washed the dishes.’

N. See Riedel, Sarvasy and Demuth (2019) for discussion of this tense.

P127 Complementiser presence: Is a subordinator/complementiser present in a subordinate clause?

V. 1: yes, optionally

- e.g. *Ke-nahan-a (hore) Thohoyandou e-ntle.*
 SM_{ISG}-think-FV COMP 9.Thohoyandou AP_{x9}-beautiful
 ‘I think Thohoyandou is beautiful.’

P128 Complementiser location: Where does the subordinator/complementiser appear with respect to the subordinate clause?

V. 1: in front of the clause

N. See P127.

P129 Complementiser origin: Is there a subordinator/complementiser derived from a verb meaning ‘say’ or ‘tell’?

V. yes

N. The complementiser *hore* is derived from *-re* ‘say’ prefixed with infinitive *ho-*. See also P127.

P130 Complementiser agreement: Is there an agreement marker on the subordinator/complementiser?

V. no

N. See P127.

P131 if-clauses expression: How are conditional clauses (or if-clauses) expressed?

V. 4: both a conjunction and a specific tense/aspect/mood are possible in the same verb

- i) *Ha pula e-ka-na di-palesa di-tla-thuny-a.*
 If 9.rain SM₉-POT-fall 10-flower SM₁₀-FUT-bloom-FV
 ‘If it rains, the flowers will bloom.’
- ii) *Pula ha e-ka-na di-palesa di-tla-thuny-a.*
 9.rain if SM₉-POT-fall 10-flower SM₁₀-FUT-bloom-FV
 ‘If it rains, the flowers will bloom.’
- iii) *Ha pula e-na di-palesa di-tla-thuny-a.*
 If 9.rain SM₉-fall 10-flower SM₁₀-FUT-bloom-FV
 ‘If it rains, the flowers will bloom.’

N. *ha* ‘if’ is obligatory, but can occur before and after the subject. In contrast, the potential prefix *ka-* is optional.

P132 if-clause order: Does the subordinate if-clause always precede the main then-clause?

V. no

« both orders are possible »

- i) *Di-palesa di-tla-thunya ha pula e-ka-na.*
 10-flower SM₁₀-FUT-bloom if 9.rain SM₉-POT-fall
 ‘Flowers will bloom if it rains.’
- ii) *Ha pula e-ka-na di-palesa di-tla-thunya*
 if 9.rain SM₉-POT-fall 10-flower SM₁₀-FUT-bloom
 ‘Flowers will bloom if it rains.’

P133 if-clause = then-clause: Do the verbs in the if-clause and the then-clause have the same tense/aspect marking?

V. no

P134 Hypothetical = Counterfactual: Are hypothetical (if I Ved) and counterfactual (if I had Ved) clauses expressed in different ways?

V. yes

« similar but not identical. »

- i) Counterfactual:
Ha ba-ne ba-i-thut-ile ba-ne ba-tla-ba le mo-sebetsi
 If SM₂-POT SM₂-REFL-study-PFV SM₂-POT SM₂-FUT-be with 3-job
o-hantle
 AP_{X3}-nice
 ‘If they had studied, they would have got a good job.’

ii) Hypothetical:

Ha ba-i-thutile *ba-ka-fuman-a* *mo-sebetsi* *o-hantle*
 if SM₂-REFL-study.PFV SM₂-POT-find-FV 3-job AP_{x3}-nice
 ‘If they studied they could get a good job.’

iii) Hypothetical:

Ha ba-i-thut-a *ba-ka-fuman-a* *mo-sebetsi* *o-hantle*
 if SM₂-REFL-study-FV SM₂-POT-find-FV 3-job AP_{x3}-nice
 ‘If I study I can get a good job’

P135 Temporal adverbial clauses: How are temporal adverbial clauses formed (e.g. when-clause, once clause, after-clause, before-clause, etc)?

V. 1: by the use of a specific adverbial conjunction

- i) *Ke-rat-a* *ha* *nako* *ea-ho-j-a* *e-fihlile*
 SM_{1SG}-like-FV when 9.time SM₉-INF-eat-FV SM₉-arrive.PFV
 ‘I like when it is time to eat.’
- ii) *Ha* *ke-qet-a* *se-kolo* *ke-tla-y-a* *Lesotho*
 When SM_{1SG}-finish-FV 7-school SM_{1SG}-FUT-go-FV Lesotho
 ‘When I finish school I will go to Lesotho.’
- iii) *Ke-tla-hlap-a* *pele* *ke-j-a*
 SM_{1SG}-FUT-bath-FV before SM_{1SG}-eat-FV
 ‘I will bath before I eat.’

N. When-clauses are formed with *ha*, while before-clauses are formed with *pele*.

P136 Locative adverbial clauses: How are locative adverbial clauses (‘where’-clauses) formed?

V. 3: by a specific locative relative construction

e.g. *Ha* *ke-tseb-e* *moo* *me-tswalle* *ea-ka* *e-ile-ng*
 NEG SM_{1SG}-know-PFV where 4-friend PP_{x4}-POSS1SG SM₄-go.PFV-REL
 ‘I don’t know where my friends went.’

N. As shown in the above example, where-clauses are formed with the relative pronoun *moo* and *-ng*.

P137 Comparative: How is the comparative (and by extension the superlative) conveyed?

V. 1: by the verb ‘surpass/exceed’

- i) *Ntlo* *ena* *e-kholo* *ho-fet-a* *eane*
 9.house DEM₉ AP_{x9}-big INF-surpass-FV DEM₉
 ‘This house is bigger than that one.’
- ii) *Amina* *o-mo-telele* *ho-fet-a* *bohle*.
 1a.Amina SM₁-AP_{x1}-tall INF-surpass-FV 2.everyone
 ‘Amina is the tallest.’

P138 SM in non-finite clauses: Can non-finite clauses have an overt subject? (For John to eat cookies is fun / John eating cookies is fun / people to play football is annoying)

V. yes

e.g. *Ho Amina ho-j-a papa hwa-thab-is-a*
 LOC 1a.Amina INF-eat-FV 9.porridge SM₁₇.DJ-fun-CAUS-FV
 ‘For Amina to eat porridge is fun.’

P139 Verb inflection in raising constructions: In raising constructions, can the raising verb (i.e. in the upper clause) and the main verb (in the lower clause) both be inflected?

V. yes

i) *Amina o-sheb-ahal-a a-kgathetse*
 1a.Amina SM₁-look-STAT-FV SM₁-tired.PFV
 ‘Amina seems to be tired’

P140 Morphological focus marker: Can a focused term be marked by a morphological focus marker?

V. no: focalisation is rendered by another strategy

P141 Focus-sensitive particles: Are there focus-sensitive particles such as ‘too’, ‘only’ or ‘even’?

V. yes

- i) *Ke-rat-a di-perekisi hape le di-banana.*
 SM_{1SG}-like-FV 10-peach too and 10-banana
 ‘I like peaches and bananas too’
- ii) *Ho-fihl-ile Amina feela*
 SM₁₇-arrive-PFV 1a.Amina only
 ‘It is only Amina who arrived.’
- iii) *Amina le eena o-tile*
 1a.Amina and PRON₁ SM₁-come.PFV
 ‘Even Amina came.’

N. In Sesotho, the focus-sensitive particles *hape le* ‘too’ in (i) and *feela* ‘only’ in (ii) are used. The independent pronoun like *eena* in (iii) express ‘even’ when combined with *le*.

P142 Subject focalisation: Are the strategies available for questioning or focusing subjects different from those available for other constituents? (e.g. subjects have to be clefted and cannot be questioned in situ)

V. yes

i) *Ke mang a-bone-ng kolobe?*
 COP who SM₁-see.PFV-REL 9.pig
 ‘Who is it that saw the pig?’

ii) **Mang o-bon-a kolobe?*

Who SM₁-see-FV 9.pig

‘Who sees the pig?’

iii) *Ho-fihl-ile mang?*

SM₁₇-arrive-PFV who

‘Who arrived?’

N. Clefts and expletive subject with post-verbal wh-subject are used to question subjects.